A declining trend is witnessed in the exports of textiles. This can primarily attributed to decline in imports of textiles and clothing by US and EU countries, which are major markets for India's textile export.

(c) and (d) To mitigate the ill effects of the global economic slow down the Government have introduced a number of measures, which include enhanced Duty Entitlement Pass Book and Duty Drawback rates, reduced ECGC premium, subvention on credit rates, refund of service tax paid by exporters on various services etc.

————————

DISCUSSION ON THE STATEMENT MADE BY MINISTER

Recent Terrorist Attacks in Mumbai

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SHRIPRAKASH JAISWAL): Mr. Chairman Sir, I wish to make a statement on the terrorist attacks that took place in Mumbai between November 26, 2008 and November 29, 2008. ...*(Interruptions)*... With deep regret, I have to report to this House that 164 persons, civilians and security personnel, lost their lives and 308 persons were injured. Among the civilians killed were 26 foreigners belonging to many nationalities. Besides, nine terrorists were killed in the operations by the security forces. One terrorist was overpowered and captured.

At the outset, I wish to pay homage to the innocent civilians who were killed and the brave security personnel who laid down their lives in order to save the lives of many others. I offer my heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families. The Government of India and the Government of Maharashtra have announced a set of measures as compensation for the terrible loss suffered by the families.

DR. V. MAITREYAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, copy of the Statement is not available.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It will be made available. Copies are being made.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand): Sir, the normal practice of the House is, when a *suo motu* statement is made by the... *(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is being made. Please, do not... *(Interruptions)*...

श्री सभापति: ठीक है।....(व्यवधान)....

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया: सर, स्टेटमेंट की कापी नहीं मिली है। ....(**व्यवधान**)....

SHRI SHRIPRAKASH JAISWAL: Monetary compensation and free treatment have been offered to the injured. While lots of sympathy and money can never adequately recompense the loss, I sincerely hope that our gesture will bring some comfort to the affected families. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please, listen.

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि (उड़ीसा): सर, स्टेटमेंट की कापी के आधार पर हम मुम्बई की घटना में सरकार की खामियां ढूढ़ेंगे। ....(**व्यवधान**)....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Pany, please resume your place.

SHRI SHRIPRAKASH JAISWAL: The broad facts of the horrific tragedy are, by now, known to the hon. Members and the people of India. According to information gathered during the course of the investigations, it appears that ten Pakistani nationals belonging to the Lashkar-e-Toiba, a proscribed terrorist outfit, had left Karachi on November 23rd, 2008...

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: Sir, the hon. Minister is talking about only Mumbai.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please, resume your place.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: Sir, he is not talking about Assam. He has not made a single mention about Assam. Assam is a part of India.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please, resume your place.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: Sir, he should talk about Assam.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please, do not interrupt.

SHRI SHRIPRAKASH JAISWAL: ...boarded a launch by the name of *Al Hussaini*, accosted and hijacked an Indian fishing vessel, *M.V. Kuber*, off the coast of Gujarat.....killed its occupants; and a few miles short of the coast of Mumbai abandoned the fishing vessel, got into an inflatable rubber dinghy, and landed near Budhwar Park, Colaba, Mumbai between 8.00 p.m. and 8.30 p.m. on November 26, 2008. The terrorists split into four groups and the main targets of the four groups were - Chatrapati Shivaji Terminus (CST); the Leopold Cafe and Taj Hotel; the Oberoi Trident Hotel; and, the Nariman House. These attacks involved indiscriminate firing, throwing of grenades and bomb blasts at 13 locations...*(Interruptions)*. Considering the extensive publicity that the whole episode has already received in the media and through official statements, it may not be necessary for me to go into the details of what happened at each of these locations.

I shall now give you a brief account of the response of the authorities to the terrorist attack. At the CST, security personnel belonging to the Mumbai Police and the RPF confronted two heavily-armed terrorists. After causing mayhem at CST, the two terrorists escaped via a lane opposite the station. Meanwhile, as soon as the news of firing at the CST and near Cama Hospital was received, Police officers rushed to the sites. There was an unexpected and fortuitous confrontation between the two terrorists and the Police personnel, in which three officers were killed. Subsequently, two terrorists were challenged by a Police party, and, in an exchange of fire, one terrorist was killed and one was captured alive. The name of the apprehended terrorist is Mohammed Ajmal Amir. Interrogation and investigation have revealed that he belongs to village Faridkot in district Okada in the Province of Punjab in Pakistan. As information about the terrorist attack poured in from the Nariman House, Taj Hotel and the

Oberoi-Trident Hotel, Police parties were rushed to the places. Shortly before 11.00 p.m. on November 26, 2008, information was received by Central Government that there were incidents of firing in several places in Mumbai. Immediately, the Central Government authorities got in touch with the authorities of the Government of Maharashtra. At the request of the Government of Maharashtra, the local Army and Navy authorities were asked to provide assistance. Accordingly, the Army deployed five columns to cordon off the affected areas and the Navy deployed their commandos to deal with the terrorists. Meanwhile, at about 11.30 p.m., the Government of Maharashtra asked for the National Security Guards. The Central Government immediately alerted the NSG and mobilised their counter-terrorist units based at Manesar in Haryana. A group of around 200 men (which was reinforced the next day) was airlifted to Mumbai late that night. They were deployed at various sites of the operation in the early hours of November 27, 2008. The operations were conducted under very difficult circumstances; the terrorists were heavily armed; there was a hostage situation, and the terrorists had the advantage of shield and height afforded by the tall buildings that they had entered. Nevertheless, through their patience, skill and bravery, the security forces were able to neutralise the terrorists and rescue hundreds of persons who had been trapped in the buildings. The operations came to an end at about 8.20 a.m. on November 29, 2008. Cases have been registered and the investigations have been entrusted to the Crime Branch of the Mumbai Police. The authorities of the Maharashtra Police and the Central agencies have extended their full support to the Mumbai Police in the conduct of the investigations. Hon. Members will appreciate that it would not be appropriate to disclose any details of the investigations except to draw attention to the official briefings given by the Mumbai Police. Nor would I be able to comment on the many reports that have appeared in the media from time to time. I would respectfully urge patience until the investigations are completed and the reports are filed before the court of law.

I am, however, able to say that the finger of suspicion, unmistakably, points to the territory of our neighbour, Pakistan. The interrogation of the captured terrorist has yielded valuable material evidence. The origins of the ten terrorists who entered India have been established conclusively. There is also abundant evidence gathered from the inflatable rubber dinghy, the fishing vessel and the bodies of the terrorists that has enabled the investigators to reconstruct the sequence of events from the origin to the targets.

I know that hon. Members, as well as the people of the country, would wish to ask a number of questions concerning the nature and extent of the terrorists threat to India, the intelligence gathering machinery, the preparedness of our security forces, the effectiveness of the operations and on the path forward.

There are genuine concerns on each of these matters. I share these concerns. In the last ten days, even while familiarising myself with the security situation and the working of the Ministry of Home Affairs, the intelligence agencies, the Central Para Military Forces and the State

Police Forces, I have initiated a number of steps that will, I believe, enhance security and restore the confidence of the people.

Hon. Members, in my assessment, South Asia is in the eye of the storm of terror. Several terrorist organisations operating from territories beyond India's border have been identified as the source of the terrorist attacks in India that have occurred over the last several years. India told the United Nations Security Council yesterday that "India will act to safeguard and protect its people from such heinous attacks; however, long and difficult that task may be. We have acted with restraint in the face of terrorist attacks. We must do our duty by our people and take all actions as we deem fit to defend and protect them." That is our policy. My colleague, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, Minister for External Affairs will intervene in the discussion and deal with the external and diplomatic aspects of the situation arising out of the terrorist attack in Mumbai.

We have a number of intelligence gathering agencies. Intelligence is shared, evaluated and acted upon. However, I have found that there is a tendency to treat some intelligence inputs that are not specific or precise, as not actionable intelligence. Further, the responsibility for acting upon the intelligence inputs is quite diffused. In the case of Mumbai attacks, intelligence regarding a suspected LeT vessel attempting to infiltrate through the sea route was shared with the Director General, Coast Guard and the Principal Director, Naval Intelligence. The Coast Guard made a serious effort, including deploying vessels and aircraft, to locate the suspected vessel but was not successful. The Navy found that the coordinates of the vessel, as reported, placed it well within the territorial water of Pakistan. Nevertheless, the Navy had committed several surface units and aircraft in the zone during the period November 19 - 20, 2008. In the absence of further inputs or information from the agencies concerned, the Navy concluded that no further action could be taken on the basis of the available information. I wish to inform hon. Members that all aspects concerning intelligence are under my examination. While the basic structure seems sound, there is a need to make intelligence gathering and intelligence sharing more effective and result oriented. Some changes have already been made and more are underway.

The NSG is our best-trained and best-equipped force to counter a terrorist attack. On many occasions in the past — and in Mumbai too — they have displayed exceptional courage and skill. They are hampered by the distance between their headquarters and the airport, the absence of a dedicated aircraft and the poor logistics in the theatre of operations. Nevertheless, once deployed, the NSG is a very effective counter terrorist force. I have initiated a number of steps to remove the logistical weaknesses in mobilising and deploying the NSG. A decision has been taken to locate NSG units in a few regional hubs. A decision has also been taken to draw upon the commando units of the Armed Forces to create more regional hubs until a decision is taken to locate NSG units in those hubs too. These decisions will be implemented as expeditiously as possible.

The Mumbai terrorist attacks have brought into sharp focus the vulnerability of our coastline that extends to 7,500 kilometers and the imperative need to enhance maritime and coastal security. A coastal security scheme was approved in January 2005 for implementation over a period of five years with an outlay of Rs. 400 crore for capital expenditure and Rs. 151 crore for recurring expenditure during the first five years. We have reviewed the scheme and we have concluded that there is a need to strengthen it and integrate it into a larger security system. A decision has been taken in principle to create a Coastal Command for overall supervision and coordination of maritime and coastal security. The mandate of the Coastal Command will be to secure India's coastline.

I may also report to this House a number of other decisions that have been taken in order to enhance security.

(1) Intelligence gathering requires human resources and technical resources. We have identified the gaps. Steps are being taken to fill the vacancies in the intelligence organisations expeditiously and to provide them with advanced technical equipment.

(2) India Reserve Battalions are being raised in a number of States with financial assistance from the Central Government. Government have already authorised that two companies of each battalion may be raised as special commando units for which additional assistance will be provided for training, equipment, etc.

(3) It has been decided to set up 20 counter-insurgency and anti-terrorism schools in different parts of the country for training the commando units of the State police forces.

A separate exercise is underway to strengthen the laws relating to terrorist acts. We are in the process of consulting different political parties and I hope to introduce in this session, with the leave of this House, a set of Bills to strengthen the legal provisions relating to prevention, investigation, prosecution and punishment of terrorist acts.

One of the Bills is for setting up a national investigation agency. I would urge this House to consider and pass these Bills in this session. I would also urge this House to pass the amendment Bill to the Prevention of Money Laundering Act, 2002. The Prime Minister, in his address to the nation on November 27, 2008, declared the resolve of the Government to take the strongest possible measures to ensure the security of the nation and the people. I promise, on behalf of the Government, that we will strain every nerve to carry this resolve into determinate action. There is one thing that I wish to make clear: given the nature of the threat, we cannot go back to business as usual. In the next few weeks and months, it will be my endeavour to take certain hard decisions and prepare the country and the people to face the challenge of terrorism.

I appeal to all sections of this hon. House and to the people of India to stand united and brave in the face of the challenge of terrorism. I ask you to remember the extraordinary courage

of Assistant Sub Inspector, Tukaram Ombale, who grabbed the barrel of the gun and took all the bullets in his chest to enable his fellow policemen to overpower Mohammed Ajmal Amir. I ask you to remember the supreme sacrifice made by Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan who ordered his men to stay back while he confronted the terrorists. Ordinary men and women like us cannot match their bravery, but, we can stay united in our resolve and in our actions. Nothing should divide us — not religion, not language, not caste. In our fight against terror, there will be need for self-restraint, discipline and even some sacrifice. I seek your support; and I have no doubt that with your support and the support of the people, we shall overcome and vanquish the forces of terror. Thank you, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you. Mr. Arun Shourie. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI KUMAR DEEPAK DAS (Assam): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we want only an assurance that a statement on Assam blasts will be made just like Mumbai blasts. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take up the matter separately. This discussion is a focussed discussion. Please follow the order of speakers. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA (Assam): Sir, we are equally concerned about the Mumbai blasts. But, don't forget Assam. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not interrupt. ...*(Interruptions)*... Honourable Members, nobody is forgetting anything. Let's have an orderly debate. Let the next speaker speak. Wait for your turn when it comes. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI KUMAR DEEPAK DAS: Sir, we want an assurance.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We are discussing this subject today. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please don't interrupt. I think, it is very unfair.

THE PRIME MINISTER (DR. MANMOHAN SINGH): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the incidents in Assam were as ghastly as incidents elsewhere, as in Mumbai. We are not shying away from an orderly discussion on Assam and, therefore, I urge hon. Members, they can bring up Assam in this debate, but if the sense of the House is that there should be a separate discussion on Assam bomb blasts, the Government is quite prepared for that.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you. Now. Mr. Arun Shourie.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Prime Minister and my dear friends, Sir, I think, I can speak for everyone that the entire House is with the Government in the effective steps that it may take in fighting terrorism; and it is wonderful, Sir, that you have suspended the Question Hour today; that will alert the country about the urgency of the matter. The appeal which the State Home Minister has made for unity in the country in fighting this menace is entirely welcome.... and all of us endorse that appeal. But, Sir, the effective steps

have to be taken. The Minister of State for Home Affairs has just read out a Statement in which a number of steps, which were required and which have been urged time and again, have, at last, found a mention and an endorsement by the Government. I welcome that, and I will supplement that list, Sir. I hope that you will proceed on those lines and as you do, I am sure that you will find the entire House with you. Before I come to making suggestions, I very much want to compliment the Government on the initiative which has yielded fruit just now. I have just seen, Sir, through Mr. Jaswant Singh's office, a report of rediff.com that 'because of the initiative that has been taken, the United Nations Security Council has placed sanctions on the Pakistan based Jamaat-ud-Dawa, which is just an altered name of Lashkar-e-Toiba, and the four top leaders of LeT, including Hafiz Mohammad Saeed whose vituperations against India have not been exceeded by anybody, he and three others, including Lakhvi, have been declared 'terrorists' by the Security Council, and their assets have been frozen. In all such initiatives, Sir, the entire House, indeed the entire country, will be with you.

Sir, nine facts stand out. Much series of what the Minister of State has just read out, is, actually, a things of that are already known. But there are nine facts which stand out about this incident. The first of these is exactly what our attention has been drawn to by my friends from Assam, and to which the Prime Minister has so graciously responded just now. Sir, this sort of thing is happening every month, every two months. In the count that Mr. Jaswant Singh and I made of the incidents that have happened only in 2008-- I am not going to blame the Government, and so on, please see this as a national problem—in 2008 alone—I could have picked up any other year—there were 49 such incidents in 19 cities; about 2,525 people have been killed in these incidents.

Sir, the second fact is that this is happening right across the country. Now, we have seen that these actual incidents have happened everywhere. But there is another telling fact which the people who follow terrorism, and what the Government reveals from time to time, know that in just two years, from 2004 to 2006, 81 modules were busted by our intelligence agencies. These were ISI modules in the country, all over the country; 81. These exclude the modules in Jammu and Kashmir and the North-East. So, you can see the reach which the have been able to acquire. Now, we compliment the intelligence agencies for getting at these modules and I am sure that, because these modules were busted, many such incidents were prevented. But the fact that they were busted is a testimony to the fact that they exist, and that one of the most lethal espionage and terrorist agencies in the world, ISI, has been able to acquire that much penetration into and across India.

The third fact that stands out is that, Sir,—and the Minister has just read out the Statement in which he also said that—is that the finger of suspicion points to Pakistan or to actors within

Pakistan. But the first point to remember in that, Sir, is that of its 60 years of existence, for 50 years, Pakistan, has been under the heel of the army. I think that none of us, in India, can realise the terror and the pervasiveness of ISI in Pakistani state and society. Therefore, to imagine that Lashkar-e-Toiba or any other agency could do things without the knowledge, patronage, guidance, training and equipment of ISI, is to live in a fool's paradise.

Sir, Mr. Jaswant Singh has always been emphasising it and the Americans have said, they who are particularly dependent on the Pakistanis, that the attack on the Indian Embassy in Kabul was the handiwork of the ISI. The attack on our Embassy is an attack on the country. You will see the operational significance of this when I just come to what the Government has been doing, without criticising the Government, what India has been doing.

The fourth fact, Sir, is that in these circumstances to ask Pakistan to help nail the masterminds just does not make sense. To ask Mr. Zardari, the Pakistan President, to do anything like this is meaningless. On the one hand, we are being told that Mr. Zardari is not in control of these agencies and, on the other, we are being told that we are appealing to him, "Please help; please send the Director-General of the ISI here". This is the same Zardari who, for getting the killers of his own wife identified, did not trust the Pakistani investigators. He got the Scotland Yard there. He appealed to the United Nations. And we are appealing to him! This will only serve to set up India in this manner. It is foolish to put faith in the statement of such persons. It is a pathology in India to look for some straw of a statement on which to hang our hopes. Mr. Musharraf came here. He said, "मैं इस बार नया दिल लेकर आया हूँ", and a chorus of acclamations went up. Similarly, we recently hard, the statement of Mr. Zardari that the fellows causing the trouble in Jammu and Kashmir are terrorists. Again, great acclamation and hope. The moment these things equpted in India, Ms. Sherry Rehman, the Minister of Information there, immediately issued a statement that the President had never called the legitimate struggle of Kashmiris an expression of terrorism and she reiterated that support for Kashmir's struggle for self-determination has been a consistent position of the Pakistan People's Party for 40 years. Therefore, in these circumstances, to invite Pakistan to come here even for discussions to put hope in the so-called joint mechanism for fighting and investigating terror is to fool oneself. Actually, it is worse than fooling oneself, because it means that you put them in the place of judges. They will now pronounce whether our evidence is adequate or not.

Sir, the fifth point that comes out is that no one in Pakistan has suffered for the 50,000-60,000 people who have been killed since the early eighties in India by Pakistan-sponsored terrorism. What the Minister of State for Home Affairs has just read out has to be seen in the light of the fact that his very Ministry has been placing in Parliament papers saying

that the infrastructure for terrorism in Pakistan has not been rolled up at all. Has not been "Dismantled" is the precise word. There is the "Status Paper on Internal Security Situation" which was presented by Mr. Shivraj Patil to the Parliament on 30th November, 2006. It says that "the terrorist infrastructure in Pakistan and PoK is yet to be dismantled" and that it is "being used by Pakistan-based and Pakistan ISI sponsored outfits like Jaish-e-Mohammad, Lashkar-e-Toiba, Al Badr, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen," etc., and they wan't to do nothing about it. Why? Because these organisations are the instruments of the ISI and the Pakistan Army. When there was international pressure on them, they made a show of doing something. Mr. Musharraf "banned" these organisations, The Pakistani newspapers immediately published the old name and the news name. Their offices continued in the same location and their meetings for collection of donations for terrorism continued in the same way.

वे कोई बैंक एकाउंट से तो नहीं ऑपरेट कर रहे कि ऐसे फ्रीज़ किए जाएंगे... So, to repose hope in such ostensible steps is to put ourselves up for difficulties.

The sixth point that comes out is local help. Yes, these operations are ISI inspired; they are ISI orchestrated. Their principal instruments are Lashker-e-Tayeba, etc. But none of these could have been executed without local help. Just see what the Home Minister has revealed. They come to Colaba. They must know something about the coastline. They immediately know where to go for the targets, which he has just listed out. Within the hotels, as everybody has said, they knew the entire layout. They went into the Taj Hotel, precisely to the place where the Manager's wife and two children were. How could that be known from satellite photographs or to somebody sitting in Karachi? So, it was because of the local help. And we are politically hamstrung in pursuing that and talking openly about it.

The seventh point is — it is a very important point — as you have just said about the Coast Guard and so on, it has been established, time and again, that these agencies abroad and these networks abroad like Lashker-e-Tayeba, use existing channels, for instance, of smugglers. I only have to remind you, because we are talking about Mumbai, that in 1993, it has been established by the Government that 1,800 kilograms of RDX and other arms and ammunition were smuggled into India by using those smuggler's networks. Just to get a ban there is a wonderful first step, but unless we get at these networks and the existing channels — I will come to that as to what we are doing in this regard a little later — we will never get anywhere.

Sir, I completely endorse what the Home Minister has said that the entire nation feels grateful for the bravery and the sacrifice of our brave NSG people and the other security personnel. The fact of the matter is, if you look at the institutional response to the attack, there was much to be desired, not because of the fault of any individual in the Forces. In the first

round, when the poor Mumbai policemen and the Mumbai Anti Terrorist Squad got there with their exemplary courage, you should have seen their arms and unpreparedness. I have tried to make a timeline of the whole sequence. Even the Naval Commandos, who were in Mumbai, were not called and did not come to the scene till two hours after the attack. Everybody, who has studied terrorism, knows that whatever you have to do to neutralise the terrorists, plans can only be done in the first few minutes. After that they have already succeeded. I am very happy that the Home Minister, at last, has acceded to requests and entreaties from many quarters for many years that there must be many NSG hubs. What has happened, Sir? Sir, from the timeline that I have been able to establish, it took three hours for the Government to decide to deploy the NSG. Whether it is because of the late request from Mumbai or because of decision-making here, I do not want to cast any aspersions. But it took three hours. After that it took five-and-a-half hours, a total of nine hours, before our specialised Force was able to reach there. When they reached there, after nine hours of the beginning of the assault, they were blind. They did not have maps of the hotels and targets.

The ninth fact, which has now been acknowledged here on page 3 of the statement, which the Home Minister has read out, is about Intelligence reports actually having come. There are many qualifications to what has been acknowledged.

But if you see para 12, it says: "ntelligence, regarding a suspected LeT vessel attempting to infiltrate through the sea route, was shared with the Coast Guard..." And then, of course, what the Navy did or did not do. There have been earlier reports, and the Home Minister says that it is not right for him to comment on them. But the fact of the matter is that the accounts that are apperaring have been leaked by intelligence agencies There were intercepts that these two hotels would be among the targets. The third factor, which has now been acknowledged, is that information about the coordinates of this vessel were given. You say now that, at that moment, it was in the Pakistani waters. But you also say that it was two days earlier. Do you mean that nothing happened after that? Somebody has said, "Here is the Lashkar-e-Toiba vehicle. This boat has been hijacked." And we can just forget about it, क्योंकि अभी तो पाकिस्तान के waters में है! So, intelligence was given. Yet what was our response? Again, I am not blaming anybody. I am requesting everybody to kindly look upon it as an institutional matter in order to see what we have to strengthen and what we are up against. The fact that the Intelligence agencies have been saying all these things for a long time is evident from what has been said by very, very high, quarters. I will read out to you how much advance warning the Government has been giving to other people. In the annual meeting in November, 2006, — the Home Minister has an annual meeting with the Directors-General of Police and the Inspectors General of Police — which the Prime Minister also was kind enough to address, the Home Minister tells them, “Our coastal areas are coming under increased threat from terrorist groups which have decided to use the sea

route to infiltrate into India. They also plan to induct arms and ammunitions through the sea routes." That was in November, 2006. Then, he says: "Some Lashkar-e-Toiba operatives are also being trained specifically for sabotage, etc. There are plans to occupy some uninhabited islands of the country's coastline to use them as basis for launching operations on the Indian coast." What I want you to remember in this is that these things could not have been said off-hand. I will come to several of these; कोई इल्हाम तो आ नहीं रहा था, that by a certain revelation, the Ministers were saying all these things. As everyone knows, from ground intelligence, things must have gone upwards, and then, they made it, through the bureaucratic ladder, into the Home Minister's statement. This was in November, 2006. Then, on 8th March, 2007, the Home Minister was asked in the Lok Sabha: "Whether intelligence agencies have warned about the possibility of terrorists trying to infiltrate through the sea route and trying to target offshore installations." This answer was: "Yes, Sir. There are reports about terrorists of various tanzeems being imparted training and likelihood of their infiltration through sea routes." He was then asked: "Whether maritime terrorism, gun-running, drug-trafficking and piracy are major threats which India is facing from the sea borders of the country?" His answer was: "Yes, Sir." Then, we come to 9th May, 2007, what he said in this very House. On 9th May, 2007, the Home Minister is asked in the Rajya Sabha: "Is it a fact that there are strong apprehensions of terrorist threats to the country through the sea route?" He says: "As per available reports, Pak based terrorist groups, particularly LeT, have been exploring possibilities of induction of manpower and terrorist hardware through the sea route." Then, on 8th December, 2007, the National Security Advisor, Shri M.K. Narayanan, was educating the world at Manama, in the Middle-East, at a Security Conference. He says, "According to our intelligence reports, there are now certain new schools that are being established on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border which now specialise in the training of an international brigade of terrorists to fight in many climes. According to our information, recruits from 14 to 15 countries have come."

Then, he says, "The sea route, in particular, is becoming the chosen route for carrying out many attacks, even on land. References to this are to be found replete in current terrorist literature. I would like, therefore, to sound a note of warning" — he is telling other people — "that there is no scope for complacency." Sir, that is in 2007, December. Now, on 11th March, 2008, Mr. A.K. Antony, the Defence Minister, also addresses the same thing. He is addressing the International Maritime Search and Rescue Conference in Delhi. He says that the dangers of terror attacks from the sea in the region are now mounting, and he says, what Government is now acknowledging, Sir, that you are taking steps, he says then, a year ago, that the Coast Guard has deficiencies, but as bureaucrats say, all necessary steps are being taken.

Then, Sir, I come to the Prime Minister himself, and his alertness in these matters. On the 13th November, 2008, just a fortnight before the assaults, he is educating the BIMSTEC leaders

that terrorism and threats from the sea continue to challenge the authority of the State. But, that is still a fortnight before the assaults. On the 22nd November, 2008, four days before the assaults, the Home Minister is addressing the Directors-General of Police again, and he says, "To control terrorism in the hinterland, we have to see that infiltration of terrorists from other countries does not take place through the sea route." अरे भाइयो, आप किसको कह रहे हो? "Or through the borders between India and"... you can't say Bangladesh, "friendly countries. The coast lines also have to be guarded through the Navy, the Coast Guard and the Coastal Police." I am reading this because that is the context in which we must now see the new assurances which have been given, whether they will also come only to this. "The States' Special Branches and the CID should identify the persons forming part of the sleeper cells and lodging in cities and towns and studying in educational institutions" — they got those fake passes of educational institutions — "and working in industries and professions." Sir, they are not consultants to the Government; they are the Government. आप स्ट्रेटस को कह रहे हो। But, it is primarily the IB's job to identify these cells etc.

Sir, I want to supplement this by drawing the attention of the House to the fog of unreality in which all this is being done. मैंने अभी आपको होम मिनिस्टर साहब का स्टेटमेंट पढ़कर सुनाया, जो उन्होंने 22 नवंबर, 2008 को दिया था। अब आप उस दिन की चीज को देखिए। On the 25th and 26th November, 2008, that is, very literally on the eve of these attacks, our Home Secretary and his entire senior team were in Islamabad for a Joint Conference with the Secretary, Interior of the Pakistan Government. In their Joint Statement, what do they say? Now just see what is our psychology? This Joint Statement is issued on 26th November, 2008. Just now, Sir, the Minister said that the terrorists came in those inflatable boats between 8.00 and 8.30. अब देखिए कि वहां क्या स्टेटमेंट दिया गया, गोल-गप्पों के बाद यह स्टेटमेंट दिया गया। "The meeting was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. Both sides discussed the issues related to terrorism and drug trafficking and reviewed the implementation of decisions taken during the last round." Now, see, "Both sides noted with satisfaction the progress made and identified ways to further promote cooperation in a number of areas. Both sides condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations." वे all somes and manifestations को organise कर रहे हैं। "Both sides condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and affirmed their resolve", as just now we have been asked to affirm our resolve, "to cooperate with each other to combat the menace of terrorism." These are exactly the words that have been used for Assam. "It was agreed that terrorism must be prevented and as directed by the leadership of the two countries at the meeting in New York on 24th September 2008, severe action be taken against any elements involved in terrorist acts." And, that very day, using that very sea route, the terrorists come to those very targets. सर, विनोबा जी की एक लाइन है कि हमारे यहां बात ही का काम है, काम की बात नहीं। यह मुश्किल है। आपने unity के लिए बहुत अच्छी अपील की। हम सब आपके साथ हैं, मगर वह काम करने की

बात है। आपने अभी कहा कि India is in the eye of the storm of these terrorist onslaughts. I narrated to you that there have been 49 massive assaults, not incidents; and, 49 times, cyclostyled statements have been issued, 'cowardly, dastardl'. अभी session के शुरू में आपने भी ऐसी ही स्टेटमेंट पढ़ी। The whole sequence has become routinised.

I want to tell you, before coming to specific things that must be done, that the situation is definitely going to get worse for six reasons. First, Pakistan is not going to suffer at all as it has not suffered for killing 50-60 thousand Indians already. Second, not just the infrastructure within Pakistan remains, the infrastructure that is used for and within India remains exactly as it was—the smugglers' routes, the hawala networks and the perverted discourse with which we are saddled. Third, there is great pressure on Pakistan. We must see what is happening in Pakistan. You knit your eyebrows a little bit, what do they put out? "We will have to withdraw our forces from the Western border." Immediately blackmailing America, U.S.'s main problem. हम अमेरिका को कह रहे हैं कि आप इनको कुछ कहिए। कोंडोलिज़ा राइस आयी हैं, वह कुछ कह देंगीं यह उम्मीद है। वह क्या कहेंगीं, पांच हफ्ते में वह जा रही हैं। उसके अलावा America is dependent on Pakistan and Pakistan just reminds it of this dependence from time to time. The fourth fact is that actually speaking, Pakistan having nurtured these extremists, now if it keeps deploging them in Afghanistan, it is in trouble because of NATO pressure, American pressure. If it keeps them at home, it is in very severe trouble as we have seen. Therefore, the option of choice that they will exercise is to deflect extremists once again into India. Fifth and very important, that in the coming months, the U.S. will retreat in defeat from both Iraq and Afghanistan and this will be a great boost to the extremists, 'We have made the great Satan run away'. They cannot get to America easily. They can get somewhat more easily to Europe. But, we are the open and easy target.

Sir, the sixth point, which is the point our Assam friends were also emphasising, that this is just one of the assaults that we are facing. Those who map these districts and so on, point out, Sir, that of the 608 districts, today 231 are affected by extremist violence or insurgency of one kind or the other. असम को छोड़िए, even in a peaceful State like Arunachal Pradesh, the three districts of Lohit, TIRAP, and Changlang have now started getting affected by the terrorist recruitment drive there! Gill Sahab knows that very well. We must remember that, Sir, it was just four years ago that the Maoist rebellion started in two small patches in Nepal. Within two years it was in every part of Nepal. Within four years it had completely conquered Nepal. We must realise that. Finally, the point is that not only, Sir, is the finger of suspicion pointing to Pakistan, but your intelligence reports, I can say from my personal knowledge, because I have reproduced many of them, say, they record, that actually the ISI is now knitting together Indian insurgent extremist groups even in the North East. Therefore, things are going to get much worse. So, Sir, the question is what should be done. I will just come to that and I offer these suggestions in a constructive spirit I do hope that the Government especially the Prime Minister with his knowledge of what happened in Punjab, with his firsthand knowledge of what is happening in

the North East, which is a matter of great concern to him because he represents the North East in the House, I hope they will be taken in that spirit. My first point, Sir, is, please stop running to 'Mummy' This business of putting faith that somebody else will do our work for us, कोंडोलीजा राइस आएगी, बराक ओबामा कोई स्टेटमेंट देगा। Nobody will do our work for the reasons that I have already outlined to you in the case, for example, of America. The same is the case with China. China is the prop of Pakistan. They have a strategy, they say 'murder with a borrowed knife', find a natural enemy of your adversary, arm it, encourage it and it will do your job for you. This is what they have been doing *vis-a-vis* Pakistan on nuclear proliferation and every other matter. The second point, Sir, is please stop this miscalled peace process. One of the very unfortunate statements that was agreed to by the Indian Government, in this case by the Prime Minister, was that terrorists will not be allowed to derail the peace process. What did this mean? Pakistan then had both options, go on inflicting terrorist attacks and the onus of keeping the peace process going would remain on India. That is it. Shed this. You know there is always an argument that is made to us. When Musharraf was strong, 'No, no, he is there, he is strong, you have to make some concessions on Kashmir." When he was weak, 'No, no, he is your best bet, you must make some concessions to him, you strengthen him 'you must make some cencessionon Kashmir.' Now there is so-called democracy, they say, 'At last they have Democracy, therefore, you must strengthen democracy, you must make concessions and you must keep the peace process going" – even as we are badgered everyday. जोश मलिहाबादी की लाइन है, जुल्म करता है दुश्मन और हम शरमाए जाते हैं। Sir, third, shed denial. I will tell you, every time in this House from November 2004 when there was a debate on internal security, to December 2005 when there was another debate, to four days before this terrorist attack in Mumbai, the Home Minister was in total denial, नहीं-नहीं, फिगर्स ठीक नहीं हैं, he would say. उन्होंने डिस्टर्ब्ड डिस्ट्रिक्ट की डेफिनिएशन जो कि होम मिनिस्ट्री की ही थी, उसको डिनाउंस कर चेंज करवा दिया। अब देखिए, चार दिन पहले वह डायरेक्टर जनरलज़ ऑफ पुलिस को क्या कह रहे हैं, अभी आपने कहा "टेरोरिज्म मेनेस" फाइट करेंगे, होम मिनिस्टर साहब गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से पुलिस वालों को क्या कह रहे हैं। वे कहते हैं, "Fortunately, the number of incidents and casualties that have occurred..." Sir, this business is not UPA versus NDA. मगर वह फिक्सेशन है मन में। वे कहते हैं, "Fortunately, the number of incidents and causalities that have occurred in the last fourand- a-half-years are much less than those that occurred in the four-anda- half-years before the present period." This BC versus AC businers, Before Christ versus After Christ.

What consolation is it? आगे देखिए, "Yet, the impression created is that terrorism has increased and has not reduced". Please contrast that with what has been said just now. "Even if one incident occurs and one person becomes a casualty it should cause us concern and should make us alert. However, it should not demoralise us and give a wrong impression to the

uninformed sections of society." Sir, what about the informed sections? So, shed denial. The fourth point is, implement it. You have again read out a set of measures. One, on page 3, you have said Coastal command के बारे में क्या किया जाएगा ? सर, मैं आपको बताता हूं कि होता क्या है ?। will say this with complete sense of responsibility and this is what I quoted four years ago. सर, अभी होम मिनिस्टर साहब की स्टेटमेंट आई, उसको आपने पढ़कर देखा, Now there is a plan to stage things from unoccupied islands. Now, Sir, in Lakshadweep, there are 36 islands. The Godbole Task Force set up in the wake of Kargil in 2000 reported that for all these 36 islands Intelligence Operation is only on one island, Kavaratti. There, the entire Intelligence gathering is carried out by one inspector, one sub-inspector, one head constable, three constables. For all the other 35 islands, Intelligence operations are carried out by one constable/head constable. So, after the Mumbai attacks, I contacted the senior most people in Intelligence. यार उसका क्या हुआ? They said, Sir, all these people reported to a person called officer-in-charge in Kavaratti. They said the setup is still one inspector, one sub-inspector, one head constable, three constables, and for the other islands, one constable/head constable reporting now, not to an officer-in-charge but — because of the grace of Pay Commission — he is the same man now re-designated as Deputy Superintendent of Police. It was recorded then in 2000, that unidentified helicopters and turbo planes have been landing in these islands. Are we serious? Now, you are saying that Coast Guard etc. will be put under this on that authority that. The Coast Guard-Navy coordination is not good enough. The Coast Guard should be put under the control of the Navy and accountability fixed is a recommendation given seven years back. Sir, my suggestion therefore is, please implement what you have now resolved to do. सर, आपने मरीन पुलिस स्टेशनज के लिए कहा, उसके बारे में स्टेट्स पेपर्स में भी था कि हम इतने करोड़ रुपये स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को दे रहे हैं, मगर चैक नहीं किया कि क्या हो रहा है? आप पैसे दे रहे हो, सर, मैं बतलाता हूं कि क्या हुआ। This business of setting up a Marine Police Force, as you have in the Andamans, for Lakshadweep, this recommendation dates back from December, 1996. I am not mentioning UPA or NDA. You can say एनडीए ने क्या किया, कुछ भी नहीं किया हो, तब भी should we wait for assaults of this kind to be awakened to the things we have not implemented? So, I greatly compliment you, Sir, for the things you have now resolved to do on page 3 regarding the Coast Guard etc. but for heaven's sake do them. Fifthly, prepare for the next form of assault. We are always preparing for the last assault. In all of Chinese literature, to which your National Security Adviser keeps referring, they say, crossing borders with big armies, even terrorism are outmoded operations. We must get to the acupuncture points of the other society through integrated networks. What are these? Air traffic control, Railway traffic control, integrated power grids, banking transactions, broadcasting facilities, all are to be disrupted in two minutes through

cyber warfare. My good friend, Mr. Raja, is sitting here. I am very distressed to report to the hon. Prime Minister that the initiatives that were started, in collaboration with our Defence Forces for setting up of fire walls around our infrastructure, around net works of our Armed Forces have not been carried forward at all. We remain as vulnerable. I would be very happy to be wrong this if Mr. Raja could assure us. But the fact of the matter is, knowing those who are supplying such software and the work that was being done in the Ministry and the Defence Forces, I feel that country is as vulnerable to that kind of operation by terrorists and hostile Governments. Please remember, how sophisticated they are. In this case, they used not just mobile phones, not just satellite phones, they used the Voice Over Internet Protocol. Why did they do it? Sir, because it is then made difficult to locate the person who is being called. So, they are far ahead in technology. They use GPS. And, it is now established by the best intelligence sources in the world that within the coming five years terrorists will use non-conventional weapons. They will use biological weapons, chemical weapons, sub-nuclear weapons in their miniature form, etc. So, please, instead of waiting to issue the next statement after one of those attacks, review our preparedness. It is my entreat to you, to the hon. Defence Minister, hon. Prime Minister and everybody, please review our preparedness today for those new forms of attacks which will definitely come.

Sir, the sixth suggestion is: Please stop seeing these incidents, whether in Assam or anywhere else, as single discreet isolated incidents. अब मुम्बई में अटैक हो गया है, अब असम में हो गया। They are part of a sequence in a war of attrition. That is my seventh point. It is a war. The one strategic thinker in the Sub-Continent who has succeeded — the only one — is Zia-Ul-Haq. He was the man, 35 years ago, who identified proxy war as the weapon of choice to bleed India and break India. He believed in death by thousand cuts. The fact of the matter is, for 35 years, he has kept India busy and bleeding and पाकिस्तान में किसी का बाल भी बांका नहीं हुआ। That is the success of their strategy. So, it is a war. It is a war to break India. These are not discreet isolated incidents.

Sir, the eighth point is: Please do not go by the Joint Statements that their leaders sign with you and which with great satisfaction the Home Secretaries exchange with each other. Do not go by Mr. Zardari's new statement, please look at the nature of Pakistani' State and society. In the Pakistani State, lock at the pervasiveness of the ISI, the power of the Army. These depend only on hostility with India and with successes against India in these operations. How will they give these up? As far as the society is concerned, Taliban is not the cause of what is happening. Taliban is the result of the Talibanisation of Pakistani society. I have had occasion to quote a comprehensive detailed study by Pakistani academics of the Institute for Sustainable Development Policy in Islamabad of the instructions given and the textbooks used not in Madrasas, but in Government schools of Pakistan. From Kindergarten, when the child is just 5 or

6 years old, the instructions from the authorities inchorge of Secondary Education and Primary Education say that he shall be judged by the fervour with which he gives speeches on Jihad and Shahadat. This is a detailed report. Please download it and read it. That is the society which you think that you can deflect it with your sweet words. My point number 9 is that no war can be won with a strategy of permanent defence. You must make those who control and orchestrate such a war pay. If you cannot, make them pay individually, then, you must make the country realise the cost of doing all this to India.

Ten, please realise — this is a point for the liberals also—whenever we are pushed into such a situation we say that नहीं, नहीं, फोर्स use करनी चाहिए, if you must, then use just minimal force. But no war is won with minimal force. It is won by overwhelming the enemy. As it has happened in Mumbai now, सर, आपने कहा कि कितने terrorists थे, 10 थे, आपने 9 का ज़िक्र किया। and 200 commandos only from the NSG were sent, plus reinforcements, plus naval commandos. That is the scale at which you have to overwhelm. You can't do it with minimal force. That is why, Sir, when you look at this figure, आप चीन में 6 लोग मार कर दिखाइए, तो देखिए क्या होता है! यहाँ 60,000 लोग मारे गए हैं और दूसरे को कुछ हो ही न! Not an eye-for-an-eye, not a tooth-for-a-tooth. That is completely wrong. For an eye, both eyes! For a tooth, the whole jaw! Unless India has that determination and that clarity, we will continue to bleed like this all the time.

Eleven, the time when large armies could be sent across the borders — यह बहुत कहा जाता है कि पाकिस्तान पर attack करो — that time has gone. The time when large bodies of armies could be sent across the borders has gone. There are no training camps to bomb. But Pakistan gives us the clue about what we should be doing to make them cease and desist. Look at the violence in Kashmir in the last year-and-a-half has gone down because Pakistan has been preoccupied in its own problems. So, keep it preoccupied in its own problems—in Baluchistan, in Gilgit—Baltistan, in PoK.

Then, Sir, my next point, point No. twelve, is shed all inhibitions about collaborating with armies and intelligence agencies of other countries that have expertise in these matters.

Thirteenth point is a very good point that has been made by the Home Minister just now namely that you are thinking of establishing a National Investigative Agency and of amending and tightening the laws. The Prime Minister also said this after the Mumbai blasts. I appeal to all sides, please do not make this a prestige issue because, on the one side, हम सब कहते थे कि पोटा को वापस लाओ, आपको उससे एलर्जी है; आप कहते हैं कि investigative agency होगी, मगर उसके दाँत नहीं होंगे; कई स्टेट्स कहती हैं कि यह फेडेरल गवर्नमेंट के पास आ जाएगी तो it will be misused against us. In this way things that are desperately needed by the country will not get done. I will tell you the way out. It is very good that the Government is thinking on these lines. But the way

out is shown by a Congressman-headed commission's report, that is, Moily's Report of the Administrative Reforms Commission of June 2008. He has devoted an entire chapter, that is, chapter 4, to the laws for dealing with terrorism. It says that clearly there is a felt need to strengthen the hands of security forces in the fight against terror even as human rights and constitutional values are protected. It lists several provisions that are weak provisions, several judgements that are coming in the way. Friends, you will be shocked to learn, many friends there would have forgotten that in the case involving the assassination of no less a person than Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the Supreme Court held that it could not be regarded as a terrorist act. And that in that cafe none of those provisions of the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act could be applied. There are pages and pages in Moily's report that are quoted from the judgement "Terrorism and low intensity warfare have imposed new challenges on law enforcement that we are yet to accommodate even at the conceptual level." The Report says this. Then, it gives many details. "From these it is evident that most countries have been adopting tough anti-terrorism measures, whereas the provisions of similar laws have been diluted in India over a period of time." आपका स्पोक्समैन, आपके कमिशन का चेयरमैन यह कह रहा है, "The existing penal laws in India were not enacted to deal with the situation, and, there is ample evidence to indicate that terrorists have been able to escape the law either by exploiting the loopholes in the ordinary law or by intimidating witnesses to subvert justice. There is, definitely, a need to have stringent provisions to deal with terrorists." It goes on. Sir, it is really worth reading. अब सैंसिटिविटी क्या है? And, again they have said this. अच्छा भई, आपको सैपरेट लॉ नहीं चाहिए, कोई बात नहीं, but the changes that were made by the then Home Minister, Shri Shivraj Patil, in the Unlawful Activities Act, 2005 — यह 1967 का ऐक्ट है और 2005 में आपने इसमें चेंजिज़ करवाए — have proved to be toothless. And, this is said by the Administrative Reforms Commission also. So, they reviewed all the provisions and they suggested changes. अगर आपको नया लॉ नहीं चाहिए तो जैसा कि उन्होंने कहा है कि आप नैशनल सेक्योरिटी ऐक्ट को स्ट्रेंथन कर दीजिए, तो फिर वही कर दीजिए। यह भी कोई प्रेस्टीज की बात है? उसके बाद आप फैडरल एजेंसी को लायेंगे, institute करेंगे, then, it will make sense. And, we will appeal to all States also not to get frightened. आज आपकी पार्टी है, कल किसी और की पार्टी सरकार में होगी। अगर दूसरी पार्टी होगी तो बेचारी कांग्रेसी शासन वाली स्टेट्स कहेंगी कि नहीं साहब, इनको फैडरल एजेंसी नहीं देनी चाहिए, क्योंकि उसका हमारे अगेंस्ट मिसयूज़ हो जाएगा। So, a thing which is necessary for the country should not be delayed. Please do these things together. My friend, Shri Arun Jaitley, was just telling me this. जायसवाल साहब, अभी आपने बताया कि आपकी intercepts के अलावा आपको टेररिस्ट से क्या-क्या पता लगा। लश्करे तोएबा वगैरह के बारे में सब उसी से पता लगा है। But do you know that under the existing laws his confessional statement is not admissible as evidence in the court of law? You can't then link it with Pakistan. अब यह भी कोई चीज़ है! And, that provision was there, मैं पोटा का नाम नहीं लेना चाहता, but that is why, that was effective. अब इसमें देखिए कि यह शख्स अब बॉम्बे में पकड़ा गया, लेकिन अगर वह एस्केप कर जाता और छत्तीसगढ़ में आ

जाता या गुजरात में चला जाता, राजस्थान में चला जाता, तब क्या होता? There is no law. *...(Interruptions)...*

माननीय सदस्य: इसमें भी 'मकोका' नहीं लगाया?

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: MCOCA has not been usel. That is the next point. But, the law also would not exist because you are not approving it. प्रेस्टीज की बात यह है हम मकोका यूज़ नहीं करेंगे। मुझे श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की एक बात याद आती है कि, "What is the use of having a paper rword?" The next point is, after you pass these laws, after you set up these agencies, please use them. पार्लियामेंट पर अटैक होता है और आप अफज़ल गुरु का फैसला नहीं करेंगे! All this is very necessary. Sir, I am heading towards the conclusion. The next point is this. Actually speaking, terrorism cannot be fought by NSGs alone. जायसवाल साहब, चिदम्बरम साहब, आप चार रीजनल हब्स भी बनाइएगा, ठीक है, नौ घंटे की जगह आप पांच घंटे में पहुंच जाएंगे, मगर, actually, terrorism is fought by the first responder. The Prime Minister said the other day — I remember his statement; it was an odd word to use, but he said — we cannot fight terroiusm unless the constable is brought into the vortex of our counter-terrorism strategy. Constables का हाल क्या है? आज deficiency है, above 20 per cent in the IPS officers. Constables की तो और भी मुश्किल है। उनकी ट्रेनिंग क्या है, पता है? Just see the technology these people used and the training that we are giving to the persons who are to fight them. Please remember that IB also consists of these very fellows. What is their training? Their qualification has now been reduced to eighth class. They are barely literate and they are going to meet high technology challenges! What facilities are they given? About 20 per cent of the police constables in Delhi have not been given family accommodation and are living in illegal slums. And we want them to be motivated to fight terrorism! We want to bring them into the "vortex of our counter- terrorism strategy." So, you cannot have first-class antiterrorist operations without first-class policing; you cannot have firstclass policing in metropolitan areas without first-class policing in the hinterland; and you cannot have first-class policing in the coastal areas and leave the Bangladesh borders open. So, it has to be a comprehensive solution and at all levels. You cannot have first-class counter-terrorism strategies by the NSG and a third-class court system, in which the 1993 accused for the Mumbai blasts have yet to be convicted and their appeals are still in process. Unless we get that kind of a society, it is all a matter of great distress. Ultimately बेचारी गवर्नमेंट जाएगी, किसी को prosecute करवाएगी, मगर बड़े-से-बड़े lawyers उन terrorists को defend करने के लिए तैयार हो जायेंगे और हमारी कोर्ट्स का normal procedure चलेगा। How can you fight terrorism in this way?

Sir, I am very distressed to report this. अभी आपने कहा कि all necessary steps have to be taken to gather about these intelligence agencies. But your own paragraph shows the condition of the intelligence agencies. रिपोर्ट आती है, फाइल होती है। वह इसके पास से उधर जाती है। उधर से और आगे जाती है। And worse than that is, as you know, the civil war which has broken out amoug

the intelligence agencies is in the Press. Every single day, some agency is feeding information कि भई, हमने तो information दे दी थी। This shows the condition to which intelligence agencies have been brought. आई0बी0 की बात है। हम सब कहते हैं- आई0बी0। आई0बी हमारे पीछे लगा दी गई है, "but the fact of the matter is that for a country of 1.2 billion people, facing all these threats and actual assults, do you know the operational strength of IB on the field gathering intelligence? It is 3,500 persons. How can you monitor this challenge? And, Sir, the worst thing is — जैसवाल साहब चले गए हैं — but till today the Government has not been able to explain why they have not acted on the recommendations that were made by the Girish Chandra Saxena Task Force on Intelligence.

Sir, various agencies were set up. The Multi-Agency Centre was set up; the National Intelligence Data base was set up; the Joint Task Force on Intelligence was set up under the same IB All of them hare remained on paper.

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी (उत्तराखंड): सभापति महोदय, यह प्रवचन 59 मिनट्स से चल रहा है ....(**व्यवधान**)....

श्री अरुण शौरी: बस, मैं दो मिनट में ....(**व्यवधान**)....

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: कोई समय-सीमा है कि नहीं? ....(**व्यवधान**)....

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: यह जो कह रहे हैं, वह प्रवचन नहीं है ....(व्यवधान)....

MR. CHAIRMAN: We are going by the allotted time to the Parties...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री सत्यव्रत चतुर्वेदी: अगर उनके लिए नहीं है, तो फिर हमारे लिए भी समय-सीमा नहीं लगाइएगा ....(**व्यवधान**)....

MR. CHAIRMAN: We follow the procedure in these matters. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: I will conclude ... *(Interruptions)*..

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please continue and conclude.

एक माननीय सदस्य: वह इसको प्रवचन क्यों बोल रहे हैं ....(**व्यवधान**).... इतना महत्वपूर्ण डिबेट है ....(**व्यवधान**)....

श्री रवि शंकर प्रसाद (बिहार): सर, ...(**व्यवधान**).... यह प्रवचन शब्द क्या बोला उन्होंने? ....(**व्यवधान**)... यह शब्द रिकॉर्ड पर नहीं जाना चाहिए ....(**व्यवधान**)....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please let the hon. Member conclude.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Sir, this shows complete non-seriousness of the hon. Member. You should expunge these remarks. It creates a very bad impression. .. *(Interruptions)*..

MR. CHAIRMAN: The time allotted for the debate is party-wise. Parties are aware of it; they will observe it. Mr. Shourie, please continue.

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Sir, seven years after these agencies were set up nominally, as new agencies are going to be set up, they remain, to my personal knowledge, merely 'paper' organisations. That is why, Sir, I will conclude with one appeal.

The entire country is with you when you take effective steps. But there has been gross neglect, there has been gross reversal which is evident in many of the things that have happened; and if you act — Buddha's phrase goes 'with the urgency of a man whose hair are on fire; If you act with that clarity about the war, we are confronted with if you act with unrelenting determination, then, Sir, the entire country is with you. If not, — Mr. Chidambaram will remember — if you fail to do that, this time it will not be only share prices which will go down, but the country would have been let down and would have been exposed to even greater danger than it is in today because of things that have happened.

Thank you very, very much for your patience.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before I call the next Member and if the House so agrees, we may transact some formal business for a few minutes by interrupting this important discussion.

———————

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

I. **Report and Accounts** (2007-08) **NBCC, New Delhi and related papers.**

II. **Report and Accounts** (2006-07) **of Rajghat Samadhi Committee New Delhi and related papers.**

III. **Report and Accounts** (2007-08) **of NIVA, New Delhi and related papers.**

THE MINISTER OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT (SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY): Sir, I lay on the Table

I. A copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following papers, under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956:

   (a) Forty-eighth Annual Report and Accounts of the National Buildings Construction Corporation Limited (NBCC), New Delhi, for the year 2007-2008, together with the Auditor's Report on the Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India thereon.

   (b) Review by Government on the working of the above Corporation. [Placed in Library. *See* No. L.T. 9519/08]

II. A copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following papers:-

   (a) Annual Report and Accounts of the Rajghat Samadhi Committee, New Delhi, for the year 2006-2007, together with the Auditor's Report on the Accounts.

   (b) Review by the Government on the working of the above Committee.

   (c) Statement giving reasons for the delay in laying the papers mentioned at (a) above. [Placed in Library. *See* No. L.T. 9517/08]